2012

Puerto Rican Girls Speak! : The Meanings Of Success For Puerto Rican Girls Ages 14–18 In Hartford, Connecticut

Hilda Lloréns
University of Rhode Island, hilda_llorens@uri.edu

Carlos G. Garcia-Quijano
University of Rhode Island, cgarciaquijano@uri.edu

Citation/Publisher Attribution

Lloréns, Hilda, y Carlos G. García-Quijano. "Puerto Rican Girls Speak! : The Meanings Of Success For Puerto Rican Girls Ages 14–18 In Hartford, Connecticut.". *Centro Journal*, vol. XXIV, no. 2, 2012, pp. 84-109. Editorial The City University of New York.
Available at: https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=37730308005

Centro Journal
ISSN: 1538-6279
centro-journal@hunter.cuny.edu
The City University of New York
Estados Unidos

Lloréns, Hilda; García-Quijano, Carlos G.
Puerto Rican Girls Speak! : The Meanings Of Success For Puerto Rican Girls Ages 14–18 In Hartford, Connecticut.
Centro Journal, vol. XXIV, núm. 2, 2012, pp. 84-109
The City University of New York
New York, Estados Unidos

VOLUME XXIV • NUMBER II • FALL 2012

Puerto Rican Girls Speak!: The Meanings Of Success For Puerto Rican Girls Ages 14–18 In Hartford, Connecticut

HILDA LLORÉNS AND CARLOS GARCÍA-QUIJANO

ABSTRACT

This article reports on findings from "Puerto Rican Girls Speak!," an ethnographic research project carried out during the Spring of 2010 in Hartford, Connecticut, with 18 third-generation Puerto Rican girls ranging in age from 14 to 18 years old. Using mixed ethnographic methods, we examined the ways in which low-income, urban Puerto Rican girls defined success in their lives. For the girls who participated in this study, success is a multidimensional phenomena that includes happiness, well-being, life satisfaction, economic independence and stability, and fulfilling social relationships. We explored the role of family, reciprocity, and formal education networks in shaping the girls' beliefs about success, as well as their effect on the girls' ability to achieve success in life. Urban minority girls often struggle to balance the multiple domains of life that comprise success. [Key words: adolescents, Puerto Ricans, definitions of success, well-being, Hartford]

Hilda Lloréns (hilda.llorens@gmail.com) is Visiting Assistant Professor of Ethnic Studies at the Center for the Study of Race and Ethnicity in America at Brown University. She has published on the representations of race, blackness, and gender in Puerto Rican art, popular culture, racism in primary education, and Latina body/beauty ideals and plastic surgery.

Carlos G. García-Quijano (cgarciaquijano@mail.uri.edu) is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Rhode Island. His research and scholarly interests include Ecological Anthropology, Cognitive Anthropology, and the use of mixed ethnographic methods to understand complex sociocultural phenomena, such as success, happiness, and well-being.

"I am not successful right now. There are things I want to accomplish, but I need help. I grew up too fast! I feel like I have lived the life of a grown up, when I should have been living the life of a child."
—Destiny, 18 years old

This article reports findings of *Puerto Rican Girls Speak!* (PRGS! hereafter), an ethnographic research project begun in the spring of 2010 in Hartford, Connecticut, with 18 third-generation, Puerto Rican girls. Most of the existing research about success among urban, low-income youth of color limits definitions of success to school achievement (Farkas et al. 1990; Fordham 1996; Nieto 2000; Ogbu 1974, 1978, 1982, 1987a, 1987b; Suarez-Orozco 1987; Trueba 1987; Trueba and Delago-Gaitan 1988). Aside from a limited number of studies in the positive youth development literature (e.g., Catalano, et al. 2004; Dryfoos 1997; Masten, Best and Garmezy 1990; Pittman and Fleming 1991; Thakral and Vera 2006), the success of low-income or minority youth as a total social and cultural (beyond scholastic or monetary) phenomena remains largely understudied. Even less understood are the "emic" (the youth's own) definitions and measures of what is success, what it means to be successful in life, and how beliefs about success affect behavior and the decision-making of adolescents. The PRGS! study asked: What, for Hartford-Puerto Rican girls, does it mean to be successful?; and How do their beliefs and cultural models about success affect their behavior and expectations in life?

Answering these questions is important for several reasons: First, "success" is a broad, culture-bound, multidimensional phenomena related to issues pertaining to a person's sense of well-being, their family and surrounding social contexts, opportunities to make a living satisfactorily in culturally acceptable ways, personal, cultural, and ethnic identity, sense of control over their lives, and other related topics (Freeman et al. 1981; García-Quijano 2006, 2009; Masten and Coatsworth 1995). Second, culturally shared beliefs and models of success are powerful motivators of behavior. As people go through their life stages as members of a society, they will be drawing on their culturally agreed-upon definitions of success to set goals and seek tools that will enable them to approximate a successful life. Third, culturally bound and agreed-upon beliefs, and models of success may vary between and within social settings and also change over time. It is thus important to gather empirical data about the range of ideas and beliefs about success that young people are exposed to in the variety of social settings that comprise their lives, including not only the formal schooling and paid labor social context, but also their nuclear and extended families, neighborhoods, religious and ethnic groups, and others. For minority and low-income

inner city youths who often have less access to a high-quality education system and accompanying social connections, these other domains of life success play an especially important role in influencing whether the youths manage to achieve what they, their peers, family, and community consider to be a successful life.

Success and Puerto Rican Girls in Urban U.S.

Puerto Rican youth have long been described as failing to achieve school and economic success in the U.S. (Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Lewis 1966; Treschan 2010). Moreover, Puerto Rican girls living in urban low-income settings have been identified as one of the groups "most negatively impacted by unequal schooling opportunities" (Rolón-Dow 2007: 350). Even more dismal are findings that reveal that among Puerto Ricans, the school drop-out rates for females is higher than for their male counterparts (AAUW 1992; Rolón 2000). Puerto Ricans have been identified as "less likely to finish high school, attend post-secondary education, and obtain a college degree than their White, African-American, or Asian-American counterparts" (Rolón-Dow 2007: 350; see also Bauman and Graf 2003; Flores-González 2002; Ginorio and Huston 2001; Jasinski 2000).

Though these findings are discouraging, there are also indications that life for Puerto Ricans in the U.S. has improved over the last two-decades. For example, Collazo, Ryan and Bauman (2010: 6) report that, "where only 53 percent of mainland Puerto Ricans had a high school diploma or equivalent in 1990, it was 73 percent in 2008." They also found that while the income of Puerto Ricans remains lower than that of other Hispanics in the U.S., poverty rates for Puerto Ricans have decreased (2010: 11). Furthermore, as Antrop-González, Vélez, and Garrett have shown in several publications (2003, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2010), low-income youth of color, and Puerto Rican youth in particular, are capable of achieving at high scholastic levels.

In terms of overall quality of life, recent findings indicate that the multiple pressures Latina girls face might be leading a disproportionately large number to attempt suicide. A CNN report based on Zayas' (2008) research portrays many Latina girls as "trapped between two worlds," suffering from stress related to a lack of cultural consonance (Dressler 2007) between the expectations set forth by formal, mainstream institutions and those of their families and communities (Zayas 2008; Yager 2009).

In December 2009, a Pew Hispanic Center (PHC) report entitled "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in America" found that even as Latino youth report high levels of life satisfaction, their school drop-out rates are high and their college completion rates low, even when they acknowledge that a college education is important to achieving success in their lives. This study also found that the agreed-upon importance of obtaining a college education for achieving life success

decreases by generation. Such findings point to a gradual change between educational aspirations and behavior. If school is not the only source from which girls derive expectations and models of success, what are the other sources in their lives from which they might derive success?

Hartford, CT

Hartford is a relatively small city with a population totaling 124,775 persons (2010 Census). At 32.6 percent, Puerto Ricans make up the single largest Latino group living within the city and Hartford ranks 8th in terms of the concentration of Puerto Ricans living in U.S. cities (Bergad 2010: 11). The history of Connecticut's Puerto Rican population spans over 50 years. They were first identified as a new "immigrant" group to the state in the early 1950s, and by the 1960s there were over 15,000 Puerto Ricans living in the state (Cruz 1997, 1998; Glasser 1997). They first arrived in Connecticut to work in the thriving tobacco and fruit fields as well as in the poultry industry. Similar to the history of migration and settlement in cities where large numbers of Puerto Ricans live (e.g., Chicago: Pérez 2004; Ramos-Zayas 2003), there are two main trajectories of arrival to Connecticut: 1) they move to the state after having spent time in New York City or in other U.S. cities; and 2) they arrive directly from Puerto Rico, to join family members, and/or are recruited by employers (as was the case with fieldworkers in the early days of migration).

Even though many of the jobs that Puerto Ricans once occupied in Connecticut disappeared or moved overseas, the number of Puerto Ricans living in the state has continued to increase. According to the 2010 Census, Puerto Ricans represent the largest Hispanic group in Connecticut. Much of the work on Puerto Ricans living in U.S. cities describes migration experiences and its structural ramifications. While this is of course important, this study seeks to update that experience; for these girls, migration is largely passed down to them as historical memory, even as their lives and current reality are significantly framed by the migration experience of their grandparents and parents.

Hartford's South End is comprised of predominantly Puerto Rican neighborhoods that have been described as some of the city's poorest. Like many young people living in similar situations, Hartford-born Puerto Rican girls frequently find themselves negotiating stressful environments associated with poverty, neighborhood violence, and under-funded schools (Berg et al. 2009). These factors put them at increased risk of dropping out of school, having lower literacy rates, experiencing higher unemployment, engaging in behaviors involving sex, violence, and drugs, which can lead to involvement in the criminal justice system. It is estimated that 25 percent of

adolescents in the U.S. are at serious risk of not achieving "productive adulthood" (Eccles and Gootman 2002), and this proportion is even more pronounced among urban, low-income youth of color.

The remainder of this article will detail our ethnographic study on the meanings of success for a group of Hartford's South End adolescent (14–18 years-old) girls, our findings, and the implications for helping girls in similar socioeconomic and life circumstances to achieve successful, productive lives.

Methods

We used ethnographic methods to: 1) examine the ways in which urban Puerto Rican girls defined success; and 2) to determine the role that family and neighborhood reciprocity networks play in shaping the girls' definitions of success. We also asked the girls to describe their social contexts, including their neighborhoods, homes, and schools, focusing on the role that key people in each of these social sites play in shaping the girls' definitions and exemplars of success. We thus examined the girls' social networks and how people in their family and non-family networks support and/or exemplify the girls' views and ideas about success.

Beginning in March and ending in June 2010, the PRGS! team conducted a total of 64 interviews with 18 mainland-born and raised Puerto Rican girls, ranging in age from 14 to 18 years, from Hartford's South End neighborhoods.[2] Initially, girls were recruited through PeaceBuilders, an initiative sponsored by the Hartford Office for Youth Services that works with youth ages 13–18 to steer them away from violence and engage them in positive development. Of the 18 girls who participated in PRGS!, 6 are part of the PeaceBuilders initiative. We sought to broaden the sample, and colleagues at the Institute for Community Research (ICR) working in the Youth Action Research Institute (YARI) Urban Education project helped recruit other girls to represent a diverse range of life trajectories and experiences. Interviews took place at the ICR, specifically within the YARI, which trains adolescents in the use of action research for personal, group, and community development.

Each girl was interviewed a total of four times and each interview lasted between one to one and a half hours in length. The first interview focused on eliciting definitions of success and life satisfaction. The second asked about support from family and friends, ethnic identity and language, and included a "success cards" sorting exercise. The third interview focused on access to media, information, and knowledge (e.g., books, newspapers, magazines, computers, and social networking sites), and on well-being (theirs and their families). Finally, the fourth interview focused on relationships, sex, and knowledge about illegal drugs.[3]

Success Cards Sorting Exercise

The interview protocols were developed as part of a "working" group consisting of ICR researchers and youth workers who suggested that parts of the interviews be interactive. Previous research on youth at ICR had found that this population tends to engage more deeply and respond more positively when asked to complete interview tasks on their own. And so, as part of the interviews, we provided the girls with 23 laminated cards that expressed qualities or activities that might characterize potentially successful people (see Table 1). The phrases on the cards (e.g., "is happy," "has kids," "has high-school diploma," etc.) were also conceived from several meetings with the protocol-development working group, especially with assistance from Hartford-youth working at ICR.

We asked the girls to sort the cards, attributing the qualities or activities represented on the cards to people of four different success rates, from "very successful" to "not at all successful." The results enabled us to create a prototypical profile of a successful person, according to Hartford-Puerto Rican girls in this study.

Reliance on Social Networks

To assess the girls' and their familes' reliance on social reciprocity networks and the role that these networks have in supporting the girls' improving their chances for success, we asked the girls 13 questions about their households' reliance on- and activities shared with: 1) extended family; and 2) friends and neighbors in Hartford. Based on our previous experience with this and similar populations as well as existing research (Antrop-González, Velez, and Garrett 2005; Cabrera and Padilla 2004; Hidalgo 2000; Hine 1992; Rolón 2000), we expected that friends, and neighbors would play a role in supporting the girls and their families in similar ways as blood-related family members.

Cultural Models of Success

Based on the results of our interviews and formal exercises, we outlined what we found to be the shared cultural models of success for South End Hartford Puerto Rican girls. Cultural Models (CM) are "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other alternative models) by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it" (Holland and Quinn 1987: 4). Cultural model analysis focuses on identifying the fundamental units of information in discourse about a particular topic (usually through keywords and relationships between keywords), analyzing how these units go together, and assessing whether these models are widely shared, as well as their role in influencing attitudes and

TABLE 1. RESULTS OF "SUCCESS CARDS" EXERCISE

n=14 "Success Card"	# of times matched Successful Person?			
	VERY	SOMEWHAT	NOT VERY	NOT AT ALL
Is Happy	12	12	0	0
Has kids	2	8	3	1
Has high school diploma	11	3	0	0
Shops for nice stuff	2	5	7	0
Goes to college	12	2	0	0
Is a professional	10	3	1	0
Has a good family	10	2	1	1
Has a college degree	14	0	0	0
Helps others	12	2	0	0
Is nice to their family	6	5	3	0
Has a nice car	4	6	3	1
Has a cellphone	6	6	1	1
Owns a house	10	2	1	1
Has a well paying job	12	1	1	0
Has a lot of money	4	7	2	1
Are satisfied with their lives	12	2	0	0
Has pets	2	3	5	4
Does not live in Hartford	3	4	6	1
Has a lot of friends	4	6	3	1
Has credit cards	2	4	5	3
Travels a lot/takes vacations	6	5	3	0
Exercises and eats well	8	3	3	0
Is beautiful	4	1	6	3

values about a topic (Blount and Gezon 2003; Holland and Quinn 1987). Our research encompassed other larger multidimensional topics such as well-being and happiness. This article focuses on the data directly related to the girls' definitions of success in life, although we also discuss other related dimensions of their lives that relate to success.

Results

Definitions of Success

When the girls were asked, "What does success mean for you?" their answers reflected an understanding of success as a multidimensional phenomena. Their answers were often broad and referred to the multiple domains of life they believe comprise overall success. We identified twelve overall themes in their definition of success (see Table 2), which were repeated throughout the interviews with varying degrees of regularity. The four most often-repeated themes were: "Success is accomplishing goals" (n=6), "Success is achieving happiness" (n=5); "Success is doing something with your life" (n=5), and "Success is raising a family" (n=4). These larger themes were sometimes accompanied by other more specific themes such as "Not giving up," "Finishing school," and others related to achieving material things (e.g., having a nice car or an apartment).

Marie, an 18-year-old informant explained that:

Success is ultimate happiness. Not necessarily having a six-figure job or owning a Bentley, but I think…having a house, having a family, being able to keep a stable job but without being totally stressed-out. That's success. Because sometimes when you have the six-figure job and all these bills to pay you are always going to be stressed-out.

Even when Marie underscores that material things are not the foremost markers of a successful person, she also recognizes that having a place to live and being able to pay one's bills are an essential component of living a stress-free, happy life. She further remarks that having a high-stress job does not necessarily mean a person is successful or happy. Like Marie, many of the girls remarked that having enough money to take care of basic needs allowed people to lead a more successful, happier life. Because the majority of the girls in this study live in economically strapped households, they echoed throughout interviews that success is intricately connected to being able to provide life basic necessities (e.g., a place to live, pay bills, buy food, etc.) for self, as well as family. Many of the girls mentioned that their mothers, grandmothers or caregivers, "are broke" or "in debt" and that they experience stress and depression as a result. Economic instability curtailed the girls plans for the future, such as "being able to live in a dorm," or "going to prom," and so forth.

For many of the girls, there was a rejection of money as *the* marker of success coupled with the understanding that money *is important* to satisfy basic needs. For instance, Nicole, 16 years old, remarked:

Having money is important but it doesn't go beyond family and all that stuff. But yet you know this whole country is all about money. And if you don't have that then you know, most likely you're not going to have happiness because you won't have a home, you can't pay your bills, you can't buy clothes or anything, so you need money to live. I'm not saying like you have to be rich or anything, but you need enough money to get what you need.

Rachel stated that: "Success is finishing up school, going to college, finding the right job that makes good money, and being healthy and doing what you have to do, to be there for your family." Rachel stands out as the youngest informant, having just turned 14 years old a week before our interview. She was remarkably well spoken and thoughtful even when our interview revealed that she lived in a high-stress household. Her single-mother was barely making ends meet, her dad had been killed in a scooter (motorcycle) accident the summer before our interview, and her older sister (age 17) was in charge of looking after her younger siblings as well as doing the household chores. Rachel was the only informant to mention "health" as a significant category in her definition of "success."

Being "there for family" was an oft-repeated theme. The Hartford-born, Puerto Rican girls in this study corroborate previous findings such as those of Guadalupe Valdés (1996). Valdés' ethnographic account about the lives of 10 Mexican-born families living near the U.S.-Mexican border sheds light on the ways that a minority group's beliefs about success and well-being conflict with those held by the broader society (such as those held by school personnel and social workers). Valdés reports that loyalty, as well as helping support the family unit, takes precedence over individual success and ambition (Valdés 1996). Her findings also reveal that school achievement is not the only measure used in defining a successful individual, and in fact, traits such as honoring one's family by showing respect, humility, hard work, helpfulness, and the ability to accept *consejos* (advice) are more important to this group of Mexican-Americans in defining a successful person.

In his study, Javier Tapia (1998) focused on examining the interplay between poverty and schooling in a Philadelphia Puerto Rican community. In particular, he sought to understand the effects that the activities of household members had on the maintenance and reproduction of the family unit. Similar to Valdés, Tapia found that while there is great variability among families—particularly because school achievement was highly dependent on family stability, which in turn is greatly influenced by economic stability—loyalty and strong family values were significant among the Puerto Rican families in his study (Tapia 1998: 319). Equally, in our study we

found that the notion of family (e.g., having a family, helping your family, being there for your family) was central in the girls' definition of what constitutes a successful individual.

Contrary to many majority-culture youth, the Puerto Rican girls in this study place a high value on staying at home or remaining close to the family. In part, this reliance on family and/or community support networks is an indicator of the perceived importance these have on the lives of poor and/or working-class people (Antrop-González, Vélez and Garrett 2007, 2008; Contreras et. al. 1999; Garrett, Antrop-González and Vélez 2010; Reis et al. 1995; Taylor and Wang 2000).

When the topic of planning for college and of attending college away from home came up, several informants report that they do not plan to leave home and their families to live in a dorm or attend a faraway college. Yeci, a 17-year-old magnet school student, who was in the process of applying to colleges at the time of our interviews said:

I want to live at home. I am not ready to leave my mother and my siblings. We are all very close and so I just don't want to leave my house. So I am only applying to places where I can get to using the city bus. I will probably end up going to the community college near my house.

Susana, a 16-year-old high school junior stated that:

I have always dreamed of living in a dorm but I can't leave my mother. She would be alone at home with my brother and grandfather and it is also too expensive and she is in debt. No, I'll just stay at home and commute to school.

These explanations as the reasons they would not participate in "traditional college life" were echoed time and again during interviews and sustains findings from previous research on the decision-making practices of Latino youth when considering college (Matthew and Turley-López 2009; Nilofar 2010). Most often the girls interviewed in this study cited family as the main cause for wanting to stay home, followed by the perception that living in a dorm is expensive, as well as not wanting to leave a boyfriend behind.

Definitions of Independence

Against this backdrop of strong dependence on family, many of the girls said that success also means a person's ability to become "independent." Susana, a 17-year-old, illustrates this: "My aunt is successful. She has two kids, her own place, her own car,

and a good job, and she is very independent. She takes care of herself." Julie, 15-years old, said this:

Success is like, well, one thing that comes to my mind is like being independent, cause you know, you don't have to depend on anyone to pay your bills or anything. You can do it all by yourself. And other than that, you know you are happy, you are satisfied with your life, with what you have.

Clarissa, age 16, remarked that her uncle was a successful person. When asked why she considered him to be successful she answered:

He has a good paying job, he's doing real good in life. He is very independent. He was different when he was young, so now we never thought that he would be a cop or graduate from college and he did it. He always told us he would and he has done it.

"Getting an Education"

Related to the notion of independence the girls emphasized first and foremost to having a "good paying job," is a job that would provide enough financial security and stability to provide for a person's basic needs. The girls did not often associate attending college and finishing a college degree with getting "a good paying job." Instead, they talked about finishing high school or what they at times euphemistically referred to as "getting an education," as significant to finding satisfactory employment.

Francesca, a 15-year-old said, "One of the main things that will make a person successful and happy is a high school diploma and having a good paying job. I think those are very successful things." Emily, 18, said, "For me to be successful, I have to finish high school and keep the job I have right now as a nurse's aide in a home for the elderly." Julia, 16, echoed this when she explained, "For me to be successful I have to focus on finishing my GED. Because it's really hard for me to focus, I get distracted easily, I just want to get my GED and be successful!"

Often, the girls expressed that finishing high school would enable them to obtain a "good paying job." They never explicitly spoke of getting a college degree in order to either obtain a good job or to do work they were born to do (as in "a calling"). In fact, most of the girls understood that "work" is something a person does to earn a salary rather than being an aspect of personal or emotional fulfillment. The girls corroborate Worthan's (2001) findings that, for Latino youth, being dependable and loyal, as well as helping support the family is more important than achieving individual success; "and work was considered a way to make money, not a calling" (2001: 24).

A significant number of interviewees (n=11) mentioned that the main thing they needed to do to achieve success was to finish high school. This shouldn't be surprising given that this is what they are told everyday by their elders, peers, and media. However, due to the different life trajectories of the interviewed girls, two different strategies were mentioned as ways to achieve this. Those girls who are attending regular schools in Hartford mentioned that applying themselves and getting good grades was the main way to pursue success, while those girls who were not in school at the time spoke about finishing their General Educational Development (GED) certificates.

Girls also expressed that a high school diploma has more value than a GED. Even those currently seeking a GED through adult education or other alternative schooling programs offered in the city, expressed that a high school diploma "looks" better than the GED. Agnes, a 17-year-old who is currently attending an adult education program to obtain her GED said, "I am trying to enroll in a program at adult education where you can turn your GED into a high school diploma. I just feel that a GED shows you are a drop out, and I don't want to look like that." Mary, a 16-year-old remarked, "I think that colleges don't like people who get GED's, I think the diploma is a better fit for people who want to go to college!"

Even the girls who were not attending school at the time spoke about the importance of "getting an education." Girls expressed that their families often reminded them that "finishing" school is a way to have better job prospects and lead a better life in the future. The importance of education was a prevalent trope even in families where no one had ever graduated from high school. Liza, 18, remarked:

I am in the first one in my family to graduate from high school. Everyone is so excited! My grandmother went to New York and bought me a prom dress. They all think they are going to the prom instead of me! My father got his GED in prison and my mom is still working on hers. My grandmother didn't finish either. But everyone is always talking about school, and how me and my sisters have to finish school so that we can get jobs and stuff.

Destiny, an 18-year-old who dropped out of the 9th grade said:

I want to finish school. I know that it is important. Everyone in my family says to me "finish school, go back to school!" because otherwise I'm not going to have a very good future. And I am trying to go back to school. I am. I don't know how to do it or what to do, but I am trying to find a program that will help me. 'Cause right now, even my boyfriend tells me to "go back to school, get your life together!"

Professional Aspirations

Many of the girls reported learning about professional careers from television programs. For some of the girls interviewed, television, rather than school, books or even computers, is a major source of information. For example, 15-year-old Marissa, said, "I dream of becoming an oceanographer, I love the sea, and everything about it." When asked how she learned about that profession, she answered, "I learned about it from the Discovery Channel." The same is true for Destiny, 18, and Lauren, 17. During their interviews they each mentioned wanting to become a "forensic scientist" to solve "cold cases, homicides and crimes." When asked how they had learned about such a profession, they each reported learning about it from the television show "CSI."

Additionally, there is general confusion or lack on information about what college is, how to get in, how to pay for it, and its overall structure. Some of the girls said that they had gone to visit "a college" when they were "like in 5th grade" as part of a school trip. Others remarked that a nurse, police officer, or firefighter had visited their classes at one time or another, to talk about their jobs. Rachel, 14, who wanted to become a veterinarian, said "I never met a Puerto Rican doctor when I've been to the hospital. Never ever. Are there any?" Betsy, 15, wanted to know more about college and asked the project director: "What is college? Is it like high school? How do you get in? How do you become like a, lawyer or a dentist?" After her questions were answered she remarked: "Ms., it takes too long...that's a long time to spend in school, I don't want to spend all that time in school." Simone, 18, said, "I want to go to college to study marine biology because I love the ocean. But first I'm going to study culinary arts at the community college, so that when I go to college I can pay my way by cooking."

None of the girls interviewed reported that anyone in their nuclear family had graduated from college. One girl's mother and sister are currently enrolled in a 4-year program, geared towards helping working-adults finish their degrees. Another three girls mentioned that one of their cousins had attained a college degree. When asked if they knew anyone attending college now, only five girls responded having a family member, cousin, or friend in college, but none knew what they were studying. Only seven girls reported having visited a college campus, but the majority could only name the names of nearby colleges and universities (mostly within Connecticut).

Based on these findings, "getting an education" referred to attaining a high school diploma, which for the girls' and their families was the first step to securing a well-paying job. College, although important, played a diminished role within their existing notions about "getting an education." In large part, college is both a faraway reality (because they are still in high school) and an "unknown." The high school seniors interviewed reported that when they inquired about 4-year colleges, their guidance

counselors recommended that they think about attending the local community colleges. Two interviewees who attended a magnet high school in the city reported that they felt as if their guidance counselors thought they could not do better, and as if community college was their only option. When pressed further, Neisha, 17, explained, "Even though I applied to two state 4-year colleges nearby, I don't want to live away from home. So, I now I am planning to go to the community college near my house. I am not ready to live away from home. So I am happy that my guidance counselor kept telling me about the community college." Rosalinda, 15, recounted that:

Just recently my cousin who graduated high school last year and went to live at college, came back to Hartford. She said that she didn't like being over there, that it was all white, and far from everybody and that she wanted to come home to help her mom and look after her brother because he was starting to hang out with the wrong crowd. I think she goes to community college now.

Family Support

Another dimension to the theme of family emerged when Jennifer, a 17-year-old informant said, "To be successful, I have to get back into school, try to get my GED, and go take cosmetology lessons, get my own beauty shop and make sure my family is happy with what I do." Most of the girls, in part due to their developmental life-stage (adolescence) expressed experiencing anywhere from mild to great family-related troubles. Yet, as Jennifer hints above, pleasing family and having respect and admiration from one's family was a major desire among many of the girls.

One of the findings of this study is that for this specific group of Hartford-born Puerto Rican girls, family support played a crucial role in the girls perceptions of their current lives, their plans for the future, and most importantly the chances to lead a successful life. For example, Marie, the 18-year-old whose quotes open this section (about success), was at the time of our interview a graduating senior. However, as a result of instability at home, a health crisis, and what she perceived as a lack of familial support (i.e., her mother only visited her in the hospital once during her three-week stay after a painful surgery), she ended up having to repeat the 12th grade.

Similarly, Leslie, a 17-year-old informant, also a graduating senior from one of the city's most reputable magnet school's, explained to me how within the last six months she had been staying at her father's, boyfriend's, and her mother's house. She said her grades had suffered and she had missed a great deal of school, so that even though she gained early admission to a 4-year college, she was unsure whether she would meet all the requirements for graduation. She also feared not being able to save the $500 deposit

required to secure her place at the school. Leslie described her mother as a hard-working single mother who raised her and her sister mostly by herself. She said that until recently life at home was tranquil and stable with some of the "usual mother-daughter dramas, but nothing major." Recently, both Leslie's mother and her 23-year-old sister had become pregnant and given birth, one-month apart from each other, and both expected Leslie to babysit. "But this is my senior year, I want to have fun, do things after school, hang out with my friends...so because I didn't want to babysit for her, my mother kicked me out! So I started staying with my dad, but he only has a one-bedroom apartment so it's not comfortable. I sometimes stay at my boyfriend's house too, but there are too many people there so I don't like it that much." This turmoil in Leslie's life was occurring as she prepared to graduate from high school and enter college.

Thus, we found that difficult life circumstances (e.g., family and/or economic instability, lack of parental support and/or problems within the family, health problems, and involvement with the justice system) contribute to the chasm that exists between aspirations and the realization of major life goals (e.g., graduating from high school, entering college, finding meaningful employment, leading a healthy and happy life). (See Booker et al. 2008; PEW 2009; Roosa et al. 2010; Sanchez et al. 2010; Tapia 1998; Valdes 1996; Zayas 2008.)

TABLE 2. THEMES IDENTIFIED IN DEFINITIONS OF SUCCESS

THEME	# OF TIMES MENTIONED
Accomplishing goals	6
Achieving happiness	5
Doing something with your life	5
Raising a family	4
Not giving up	3
Finishing school	3
Getting material things	3
Achieving independence	2
Being satisfied	2
Making something of self	2
Dreams coming true	2
Is beautiful	4

Reliance on Social Networks

Another central topic of this study is the girls' and their families' reliance on social reciprocity networks and the role that these networks have in supporting the girls' opportunities for success, as well as the social networks' possible effects on shaping success expectations. Based on our knowledge of Puerto Rican (and other poor/working class ethnic minority) urban neighborhoods and findings from previous research (cited previously), we expected that friends and neighbors would play a role in supporting the girls and their families, similar to the role played by blood-related family members. We asked the girls 13 questions about their households' reliance on- and activities shared with: 1) extended family; and 2) friends and neighbors in Hartford. We found that the responses were almost identical (Table 3). This agrees with previous findings about dynamics in poor urban neighborhoods (e.g., Boger 1996; Hannerz 1969; Phan 2009; Phillin 1998; Richards and Roberts 1998), underscoring the need to look at wider social settings than just the nuclear and extended family when trying to understand urban Puerto Rican youth's functional social environment. Significantly, girls whose families were actively involved in a Church or Kingdom Hall (n=4) reported that their families relied heavily on friends and fictive kin networks stemming from that community. Strong connections and involvement with a religious community has been found to be a predictor for high scholastic achievement for

TABLE 3. REPORTED SOCIAL SUPPORT ACTIVITIES WITH EXTENDED FAMILY AND FRIENDS/NEIGHBORS

SOCIAL SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	EXTENDED FAMILY	FRIENDS/NEIGHBORS
Go shoping with you/your family	6	9
Bring you or your family food	10	9
Give car rides to you/your family	9	9
Give money to you/your family	10	10
Give groceries to you/your family	5	6
Attend doctor's appts. with you/your family	4	6
Help you/your family with paperwork	4	2
Help you with homework or school projects	6	7
Plan birthday parties for you/your family	8	5
Invite you/your family to get-togethers	9	9
Give you/your family Christmas gifts	10	10
Attend your school activities	6	6
Hang out at your house	8	8

Latino/a students (Antrop-González, Velez and Garrett 2005, 2007; Sikkink and Hernandez 2003).

Laura, 16, whose parents are Jehovah's Witnesses, remarked, "Our friends from Kingdom Hall even helped my parents build an entire house, I mean from the ground up." Iris, 15, whose family is active in the Catholic Church stated, "My church family is very supportive! They always encourage me and my sister with our singing and our comedy show." Susana, 16 years old, and class president, remarked, "My mom is a Jehovah's Witness and I basically grew up at the Kingdom Hall."

Puerto Rican Identity

Even though the majority of the girls had never traveled to Puerto Rico, they expressed a strong connection to their Puerto Rican identity. For them, ethnic identity is not necessarily connected to Puerto Rico as a national territory. De-territorialized identities, such as those expressed by the girls interviewed, are actively forged and enacted in Hartford because the history of the Puerto Rican community there spans several decades and Puerto Ricans make up a vigorous constituency within the city. Moreover, the girls report feeling as Puerto Rican as their peers who have traveled to the island, because they live in predominantly Puerto Rican neighborhoods, interact with Puerto Ricans peers at schools and in their communities, and engage in many "Puerto Rican activities," such as participating in the Puerto Rican Day Parade, observing Three Kings Day, eating Puerto Rican foods at home or at any of the numerous Puerto Rican restaurants in the city, and regularly listening and dancing to *salsa* or *reggaeton*. When asked about the importance of Puerto Rico, the majority of the girls reported that their being Puerto Rican was either "important" or "very important" to them and their families (see Table 4). Hartford-born Liza stated, "Puerto Rico is important in our house, even though me and my sisters have never been there. My grandmother is always talking about the stuff that happens over there. My family is all about Puerto Rico and we would not want to be anything else." Jessica, a 17-year-old remarked, "Even though I was born here, and have never been to Puerto Rico, my family makes me very Puerto Rican. We always eat Puerto Rican food, we always listen to Spanish music at home, we watch novelas, and I dress very "*guala*."[4] Fourteen-year-old Naomi, said, "Being Puerto Rican is very important to my family and to me. In my house we eat Spanish foods, like rice and beans, and my mom listens to salsa a lot and me and my sister sing along."

TABLE 4. IMPORTANCE OF PUERTO RICO AND BEING PUERTO RICAN

n=12	Puerto Rico is:		Being Puerto Rican is:	
	FOR YOU	FOR YOUR FAMILY	FOR YOU	FOR YOUR FAMILY
Very important	3	7	6	5
Importan	4	1	3	3
Moderately important	1	1	1	2
Of little importance	3	3	2	2
Not important	1	0	0	0

Diasporic Youth

Lukose (2007) proposes that researchers studying the lives of youth of color (and of immigrant backgrounds) engage the Diaspora studies theoretical framework to understand aspects of their lives. Moreover, Villenas suggests that anthropological research on Latinos should consider them as Diasporic subjects, rather than as immigrants (DeJaeghere and McCleary 2010: 229; cf. Villenas 2007). The transnational and Diasporic perspective calls attention to the hybrid, transnational, and global practices in which youth actively participate. The Diaspora studies framework is particularly relevant for this project, because for many third-generation Puerto Rican girls, the facts about Puerto Rican migration and settlement are often passed down to them in the form of historical memory from their parents and/or grandparents. As such, the experiences regarding the hardships, trauma, and suffering stemming from migration, through which grandparents and/or parents might have lived, are often glossed over or lessened for the third generation. Thus, while the girls might identify as ethnically Puerto Rican, they have grown up in a multicultural setting that undoubtedly informs their notions of what it means to be Puerto Rican (and which might exist in tension with parental definitions). Yet the girls (as illustrated previously) report having a very strong orientation to a homeland (Puerto Rico), as an important "source of values, legitimacy, and identity" (Lukose 2007: 409). Hartford is an ethnically segregated city, which also may reinforce ethnic identity for groups living in the city.

Viewing the girls as Diasporic subjects reveal how they actively work at "boundary maintenance" (Brubaker 2005) of their ethnic community, while at the same time creatively picking and choosing music, clothing styles, foods, manners of articulation both in the real-world physical terms and in cyberspace, friends, dances, and so forth, that makes them uniquely Hartford-Puerto Rican. There is a "third space" wherein

the girls creatively live and construct their identities that are neither fully "here" (in majority society), not fully "there" (in parental community), but somewhere in-between that on an everyday level does not feel to them wrong or ambivalent. Anzaldúa (1987) described this "living between worlds" as life in the "borderlands."

Understanding third-generation Hartford-Puerto Rican girls as Diasporic citizens is particularly relevant because youth today come of age in a world that is not only mediated by family, school, and peers, but also by transnational and global media and social networks often expanding well beyond their communities of origin. The girls interviewed demonstrated that their lives were not only bound to their parental culture, but rather that they are linked to a wide network of peer-based, youthful articulations (both throughout the city of Hartford and in cyberspace) that creatively mediate essentialist categories of race, nation, gender, and community. This project contributes to the growing literature about third-generation Puerto Rican youth who are growing up in culturally diverse U.S. cities and who imagine and invent culturally hybrid practices to assert their Puerto Rican ethnic identity along with their own definitions of a successful life.

Narratives about Pregnancy

Although Hartford teen pregnancy rates are among the highest in the state of Connecticut, all of the girls interviewed reported that they did not want to have children at a young age. The majority of the girls interviewed agreed that the ideal age to become a mother is about 25 years old. Out of the 18 girls in the sample, 2 had a child under the age of 2 years old and 1 girl reported having been pregnant, while 2 others reported having had a "scare." Clara, 18 years old, and a mother of a boy 18 months old said:

I think having him at this age was a mistake. I mean I am happy about him and I love him. But I can't do the things I want to do, I don't have any help, and I can't even get to school or get a job right now. And sometimes I feel lonely, because my friends are out having fun, but I can't be out with them.

Suzy, 16 years old, and mother of a boy 8 months old, echoes Clara's statement:

I should have waited. Sometimes I feel stressed and lonely because I can't go out with my friends, and go to parties and have fun. Things change when you have a baby. I mean I have missed so much school since he was born because I have to stay home and take care of him when he is sick.

Schooling has taken second place in both Clara and Suzy's lives, as they struggle to care for their babies with what they explain is limited paternal and grandmother support. They also report that they are the main caregivers for the babies, as their mothers and sisters are still child rearing as well, and are too busy. Although Clara and Suzy report some regret about having a baby at such young ages, previous studies have found that Puerto Ricans place a high value on motherhood (Leabeater and Way 2001). Diez and Mintry echo Suzy's remark (above) when they state that the "unanticipated demands of parenting were difficult to reconcile with school obligations. For example, participants had to care for their babies when they became sick, even at the cost of exceeding absenteeism limits" (2010: 705).

Destiny, 18, said, I would love to have a child, and someone to love and that loves me back, but right now I can't even take care of myself so I will wait until I have an apartment and a job." Betsy, 15 years old, said, "I want to have fun, go out to clubs, parties, and hang out with my friends. I think people should have babies when they are like 25 years old, when they have their lives together."

Even when they spoke of not wanting to have children at a young age, the majority of the girls who reported to be sexually active (n=12) also reported that their main method of contraception is the condom. When asked whether they would consider taking birth control pills, many responded that the "pill" has too many side effects and they do not feel comfortable taking it because "it is bad for you." Among those who reported to be sexually active (n=12), only 1 girl, a 15-year old, reported using more reliable birth control:

I was 13 when I lost my virginity, and I felt guilty and so I told my mom and she took me to the doctor to have me checked out for STD's and stuff, and that's when we decided that I would get the shot (Depo-Provera).

Conclusion

For the PRGS! participants, "success" is a multi-dimensional, cultural-bound phenomena that includes happiness, well-being, subjective life satisfaction, economic independence and stability, and being able to help one's family. Urban minority girls often struggle to balance the multiple domains of life that comprise success. For example, one important finding was the joint role of social support networks at various levels (family, extended, family, neighborhood, school) and their combined influences on shaping the girls' cultural models of success. Interactions between the different networks enhanced opportunities when there was convergence but created stress and potentially diminished success when they conflicted with one another.

Further research is needed to understand potential foci of convergence and conflict in cultural models of success that young Puerto Rican girls experience in order to identify possible effective strategies for intervention and guidance.

For Hartford-Puerto Rican girls, success is not necessarily related to material attainment (e.g., "buying nice things"), though they recognized that owning such "things" can help to make people feel happy. Similar to previous researchers, we also found that some of the girls' behaviors are discordant with their aspirations. For example, girls report wanting to go on to college and become professionals and yet they drop out of school, engage in unprotected sex, and/or get in trouble with the justice system.

Another key finding from our study reveals that this disjunction between aspirations and behavior is partly rooted in difficult life circumstances (e.g., economic instability, lack of parental support and/or problems within the family, health problems, and involvement with the justice system), which contribute to the girls' inability to take advantage of available opportunities and which ultimately stand in the way of realizing major life goals. While the girls are optimistic about their future, and speak clearly about their current life conditions, they are sometimes uncritical about the structural conditions that negatively affect their lives and that get in the way of achieving success.

This research represents a significant initial advance in understanding how U.S. Puerto Rican girls think about success and how this understanding affects their behavior and progress in life. However, we are the first to admit that we are only scratching the surface and that more research on this topic, with large samples and with comparable Puerto Rican and other Latino populations, is sorely needed. Further ethnographic, as well as longitudinal, research is needed to document how the girls' lives progress, and to fully understand what strategies might work in allowing them to achieve meaningful and healthy lives.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The *Puerto Rican Girls Speak!* research project was funded by grants from the Puerto Rican Research and Public Policy Iniative 2010 (Center for Puerto Rican Studies, CUNY), and a Community Action Grant (2010–11), from the American Association of University Women. The authors would like to thank the Harford-born, Puerto Rican girls who generously shared their life stories with us. We are indebted to the late Marlene Berg and to Dr. Jean J. Schensul for their unconditional support, encouragement, and valuable feedback. This project was also enriched by our youth co-researchers, Melissa Agosto and Emily Silva. Zulynette Morales and Elena Serrano provided important support in data collection and interview transcription. This article is dedicated to the loving memory of Marlene Berg, whose support made this project possible.

NOTES

1 To protect confidentiality, the names of all informants are pseudonyms.

2 Girls were given a $10.00 incentive for each interview completed. Girls were able to earn a total of $40.00 for completing all interviews. They also received a $10.00 incentive for every girl they recruited and brought in to be interviewed.

3 Interview protocols were developed in conjunction with Hartford-youth, research scientists, as well as from a vast review of the literature of Puerto Rican/Latino adolescents in the US. The 4-interview protocol can be made available to interested researchers by contacting PRGS!'s project director (first author).

4 The girls used the term "guala" to refer to a "real" Puerto Rican person or someone who recently arrived from the island, who speaks mostly Spanish and "dresses as if it is always hot." When asked about the origin of the term, they could not explain where it came from "just something we say." At Urbandictionary.com, the term guala is defined, as among other things: "...usually a Puerto Rican or Dominican, who represent their culture every minute of their life."

REFERENCES

American Association of University Women. 1992. *How Schools Shortchange Girls*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women Foundation.

Antrop-González, René, William Vélez and Tómas Garrett. 2003. Where are the Academically Successful Puerto Rican Students? Five Success Factors of High-Achieving Puerto Rican High School Students. Julian Samora Research Institute, Working Paper No. 61.

_____. 2004. Challenging the Academic (Mis)Categorization of Urban Youth: Building a Case for Puerto Rican High Achievers. *Multiple Voices for Ethnically Diverse Exceptional Learners* 7(2): 16–32.

_____. 2007. Religion and High Academic Achievement in Puerto Rican High School Students. *Religion & Education* 34(1): 63–75.

_____. 2008. Examining Familial-based Academic Success Factors in Urban High School Students: The Case of Puerto Rican Female High Achievers. *Marriage & Family Review* 43(1/2): 140–63.

Bauman, K. J., and N. L. Graf. 2003. Educational Attainment: 2000 U.S. Census Bureau. Accessed 9 September from http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/c2kbr-24.pdf/.

Berg, Marlene, Emil Coman and Jean J. Schensul. 2009. Youth Action Research for Prevention: A Multi-level Intervention Designed to Increase Efficacy and Empowerment among Urban Youth. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 43: 345–59.

Bergad, Laird W. 2010. Puerto Ricans in the United States, 1900–2009: Demographic, Economic, and Social Aspects. Accessed from http://web.gc.cuny.edu/lastudies/.

Blount, Ben G., and Lisa Gezon. 2003. Cultural Models of Water Issues in the Georgia Coast. Proceedings, Georgia Water Resources Conference, University of Georgia, April 23–4.

Booker, Cara, et al. 2008. A Longitudinal Analysis of Stressful Life Events, Smoking Behaviors, and Gender Differences in a Multicultural Sample of Adolescents. *Substance Use & Misuse* 43(11): 1509–32.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2005. The "Diaspora" Diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(1): 1–19.

Cabrera, N. L., and A. M. Padilla. 2004. Entering and Succeeding in the "Culture of College": The Story of Two Mexican-heritage Students. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 26(2): 152–70.

Catalano, Richard F., et al. 2004. Positive Youth Development in the United States: Research Findings on Evaluations of Positive Youth Development Programs. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 591(1): 98–124.

Collazo, Sonia G., Camille L. Ryan and Kurt J. Bauman. 2010. U.S. Census Bureau: Housing and Household Economic Statistics Division. Proceedings, Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America. Dallas, TX.

Contreras, Josefina M., et al. 1999. Social Support and Adjustment among Puerto Rican Adolescent Mothers: The Moderating Effect of Acculturation. *Journal of Family Psychology* (13)2: 228–44.

Cruz, José E. 1997. Decade of Change: Puerto Rican Politics in Hartford, Connecticut, 1969–1979. *Journal of American Ethnic History* (16)3: 45–80.

_____. 1998. *Identity and Power: Puerto Rican Politics and the Challenge of Ethnicity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

DeJaeghere, Joan G., and Kate S. McCleary. 2010. The Making of Mexican Migrant Youth Civic Identities: Transnational Spaces and Imaginaries. *Anthropology & Education Quaterly* 41(3): 228–44.

Desmond, Matthew, and Ruth N. López Turley. 2009. The Role of *Familism* in Explaining the Hispanic-White College Application Gap. *Social Problems* 56(2): 311–34.

Diez, Virginia, and Jayanthi Mistry. 2010. Early Childbearing and Educational Attainment among Mainland Puerto Rican Teens. *Journal of Adolescent Research* 25(5): 690–715.

Dressler, William W. 2007. Cultural Consonance. In *Textbook of Cultural Psychiatry*, eds. Dinesh Bhugra and Kameldeep Bhui. 179–90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dryfoos, Joy G. 1997. The Prevalence of Problem Behaviors: Implications for Programs. In *Enhancing Children's Wellness. Healthy Children 2010. Issues in Children's and Families' Lives*, eds. Roger P. Weissberg et al. 17–46. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Eccles, J., and J. A. Gootman, eds. 2002. *Community Programs to Promote Youth Development*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Farkas, George, et al. 1990. Cultural Resources and School success: Gender, Ethnicity, and Poverty Groups within an Urban School District. *American Sociological Review* 55(1): 127–42.

Flores-González, Nilda. 1999. Puerto Rican High Achievers: An Example of Ethnic and Academic Identity Compatibility. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 30(3): 343–62.

_____. 2002 *School Kids/Street Kids: Identity Development in Latino Students*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Fordham, Signithia. 1996. *Blacked Out: Dilemmas of Race, Identity, and Success at Capital High*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Freeman, Howard, et al. 1981. Guatemalan and U.S. Concepts of Success and Failure. *Human Organization* 40(2): 140–5.

García-Quijano, Carlos G. 2006. Resisting Extinction: The Value of Local Ecological Knowledge for Small-scale Fisheries in Southeastern Puerto Rico. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia.

_____. 2009. Managing Complexity: Ecological Knowledge and Success in Puerto Rican Small-scale Fisheries. *Human Organization* 68(1): 1–17.

Garrett, Tomás, René Antrop-González and William Vélez. 2010. Examining the Success Factors of High-achieving Puerto Rican Male High School Students. *Roeper Review* 32(2): 106–15.

Ginorio, A. and Huston, M. 1999. *Sí, se puede! Yes We Can: Latinas in School*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women Educational Foundation.

Glasser, Ruth. 1997. *Aqui me quedo: Puerto Ricans in Connecticut*. Hartford, CT: Connecticut Humanities Council.

Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel P. Moynihan. 1963. *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hannerz, Ulf. 1969. *Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hidalgo, Nitza M. 2000. Puerto Rican Mothering Strategies: The Role of Mothers and Grandmothers in Promoting School Success. In *Puerto Rican Students in U.S. Schools*, ed. Sonia Nieto. 167–96. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Hine, C.Y. 1992. The Home Environment of Gifted Puerto Rican Children: Family Factors which Support High-Achievement. Proceedings, Third National Research Symposium on Limited English Proficient Student Issues: Focus on Middle and High School Issues, Washington, D.C..

Holland, Dorothy, and Naomi Quinn. 1987. *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jasinski, J. L. 2000. Beyond High School: An Examination of Hispanic Educational Attainment. *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 276–90.

Leadbeater, B.J.R., and N. Way. 2001. *Growing Up Fast: Transitions to Early Adulthood of Inner-City Adolescent Mothers*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Lewis, Oscar. 1966. *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty, San Juan and New York*. New York: Random House.

Lukose, Ritty A. 2007. The Difference that Diaspora Makes: Thinking through the Anthropology of Immigrant Education in the United States. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 38(4): 405–18.

Masten, Ann S., and J. Douglas Coatsworth. 1995. Competence, Resilience, and Psychopathology. In *Manual of Developmental Psychopathology*, ed. Dante Cicchetti. 715–52. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Nieto, Sonia. 1995. A History of the Education of Puerto Rican Students in U.S. Mainland School: "Losers," "Outsiders," "Leaders"? In *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, eds. James Banks and Cherry McGee Banks. 388–411. New York: Macmillan.

_____. 2000. *Puerto Rican Students in U.S. Schools*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Nilofar, Sami. 2010. Student Perceptions of School and Family Socialization: Predictors of Adjustment in the Transition of an Early College Secondary School. Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Ogbu, John U. 1974. *The Next Generation: An Ethnography of Education in an Urban Neighborhood*. New York: Academic Press.

_____. 1978. *Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New York: Academic Press.

_____. 1982. Cultural Discontinuities and Schooling. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 13(4): 290–307.

_____. 1987a. Variability in Minority Responses to Schooling: Non-Immigrants vs. Immigrants. In *Interpretive Ethnography of Education: At Home and Abroad*, eds. George Spindler and Louise Spindler. 225–78. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

_____. 1987b. Variability in Minority School Performance: A Problem in Search of an Explanation. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 18(4): 312–34.

Pérez, Gina M. 2004. *The Near Northwest Side Story: Migration, Displacement, and Puerto Rican Families*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pew Hispanic Center. 2009. *Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in America*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Hispanic Center.

Phan, Mai B., Nadine Blumer and Erin I. Demaiter. 2009. Helping Hands: Neighborhood Diversity, Deprivation, and Reciprocity of Support in Non-Kin Networks. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 26(6–7): 899–918.

Phillin, Fellin. 1998. Development of Capital in Poor, Inner-city Neighborhoods. *Journal of Community Practice* 5(3):87–98.

Pittman, K. J., and W. E. Fleming. 1991. A New Vision: Promoting Youth Development. Written transcript of a live testimony by Karen J. Pittman given before The House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families. Washington, D.C.: Center for Youth Development and Policy Research.

Ramos-Zayas, Ana Y. 2003. *National Performances: The Politics of Class, Race and Space in Puerto Rican Chicago*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Reis, Sally M., et al. 1995. Case Studies of Talented Students Who Achieve and Underachieve in an Urban High School. The National Research Center on the Gifted and Talented, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT.

Richards, Patricia, and Bryan Roberts. 1998. Social Networks, Social Capital, Popular Organizations, and Urban Poverty: A Research Note. Paper presented at ALOP [spell out?] and the World Bank Seminar on Urban Poverty. Rio de Janeiro. 14–16 May.

Rolón, Carmen. 2000. Puerto Rican Female Narratives about Self, School, and Success. In *Puerto Rican Students in U.S. Schools*, ed. Sonia Nieto. 141–65. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Rolón Dow, Rosalie. 2007. Passing Time: An Exploration of School Engagement among Puerto Rican Girls. *The Urban Review* 39(3): 349–72.

Roosa, Mark W., et al. 2010. Neighborhood Disadvantage, Stressful Life Events, and Adjustment among Mexican-American Early Adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence* (30)4: 567–92.

Sanchez, Bernadette, et al. 2010. Tryin' to Make it During the Transition from High School: The Role of Family Obligation Attitudes and Economic Context for Latino Emerging Adults. *Journal of Adolescent Research* (25)6: 858–84.

Sikkink, D., and E. Hernádez. 2003. Religion Matters: Predicting School Success among Latino Youth. Interim Reports. Institute for Latino Studies, University of Notre Dame, IN.

Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M. 1987. Towards a Psychosocial Understanding of Hispanic Adaptation to American Schooling. In *Success or Failure: Linguistic Minority Children at Home and in School*, ed. Henry T. Trueba. 156–68. New York: Harper & Row.

Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., and Carola Suárez-Orozco. 1995. *Transformations: Immigration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation among Latino Adolescents*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

_____. 2001. *Children of Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Tapia, Javier. 1998. The Schooling of Puerto Ricans: Philadelphia's Most Impoverished Community. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 29(3): 297–323.

Taylor, Ronald D., and Margaret C. Wang, eds. 2000. *Resilience Across Contexts: Family, Work, Culture, and Community*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Thakral, Charu, and Elizabeth Vera. 2006. *La Felicidad*: Predictors of Life Satisfaction and Well-being among Latina Girls. In *Latina Girls: Voices of Adolescent Strength in the United States*, eds. Jill Denner and Bianca L. Guzmán. 187–98. New York: New York University Press.

Treschan, Lazar. 2009. Latino Youth in New York City: School, Work, and Income Trends for New York's Largest Group of Young People. Accessed from http://www.cssny.org/.

Trueba, Henry T. 1987. Ethnography of Schooling: In *Success or Failure: Linguistic Minority Children at Home and in School*, ed. Henry T. Trueba. 1–13. New York: Harper & Row.

Trueba, Henry T., and C. Delgado-Gaitan. 1988. *School and Society: Learning Content through Culture*. New York: Praeger.

Valdés, Guadalupe. 1996. *Con respeto: Bridging the Distances Between Culturally Diverse Families and Schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Villenas, Sofia. 2007. Diaspora and the Anthropology of Latino Education: Challenges, Affinities, and Intersections. *Anthropology of Education Quarterly* 38(4): 419–25.

Wortham, Stanton. 2001. Gender and School Success in the Latino Diaspora. In *Education in the New Latino Diaspora: Policy and the Politics of Identity*, eds. Staton Wortham et al. 117–41. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Yager, Courtney. 2009. Trapped Between Worlds, Some Latina Teens Consider Suicide. Accessed 20 October from http://www.cnn.com/2009/LIVING/10/20/lia.latina.suicides/index.html/.

Zayas, Luis H. 2008. Suicidal Behavior in Latinas: Explanatory Cultural Factors and Implications for Intervention. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior* 38: 334–42.